



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE JESUITS AS PORTRAYED BY NON-CATHOLIC HISTORIANS

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

From the days of Ignatius Loyola until now the Society of Jesus has bulked large in the imagination of the English-speaking races. The Elizabethan certainty that Jesuits were concerned in plots against the sovereign led with remorseless logic to hangings and quarterings at Tyburn. The Puritan prejudice, common especially in the seventeenth century, that the Pope was Antichrist, made his Jesuit emissaries appear dangerous and almost uncanny. The Enlightenment of the age of Voltaire saw in them a band of obscurantists of darkest dye, whose sinister influence over education and politics properly led the Bourbon courts to expel them from the chief Catholic countries of Europe, and to secure in 1773 from a hesitating Pope their utter and perpetual abolition. In the Brief of suppression¹ the Pope himself enumerated their weaknesses and faults, and declared that these were so great as to outweigh their manifest and signal services; therefore the repudiation.

The nineteenth century saw the dead rise; and the twentieth sees it at the right hand of power in the Church of Rome. If in the judgment of some historians the outstanding political event of the last hundred years in Europe is the creation, out of dry bones, of a United Italy, the outstanding political fact in the history of the Catholic Church is the Risorgimento of the Jesuits.

¹ Reprinted by C. Mirbt: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus*; 3d ed., Tübingen, 1911, No. 457.

Called back precisely a century ago, on the seventh of August, 1814,² they have worked their way to such influence that in the game of ecclesiastical politics as played under Pius IX and Pius X it has been lightly asserted that Jesuits are trumps. Certainly the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, the Syllabus of 1864, the definition of papal infallibility and absolute sovereignty in 1870, the condemnation of Modernism in 1907, and at this very moment the codification of the canon law by the centralized authority of a papal autocracy based on divine right³—these are monuments to the victory of principles for which the Jesuits have contended, milestones on their march to power. However highly we may appraise the personal initiative of the reigning Pope, we have no grounds to suppose that there is any serious conflict of opinion between him and the Society of Jesus.

Inevitably the Jesuits are a problem to the historian. If with Freeman he conceives history as past politics, he finds in many a tangled skein of diplomacy the black thread that runs back to the Gesù at Rome. If with the Hegelians he holds that history is fundamentally a battle of ideas, he emphasizes the early nineteenth century reaction from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, from Rationalism to authority, a process which found its classic completion in the Vatican decrees which recognized the bishop of Rome as the mouthpiece of the Almighty. If the historian believes that institutions are of primary significance, moulding and dominating the individual, he neglects under peril of superficiality the development of the international empire of the Vatican, which claims every validly baptized Christian as a sub-

² Mirbt, No. 471.

³ Ibid., Nos. 499, 504, 508, 509, 558, 559. On the codification see Nos. 555, 561; N. Hilling, *Die Reformen des Papstes Pius X. auf dem Gebiete der kirchenrechtlichen Gesetzgebung*; Bonn, 1909; E. Herzog, *Der papstliche Absolutismus unter Pius X* (*Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift*; Band I., Hefte 1 & 2); Bern, 1911.

ject of the Pope, and is even now, through the codification of the canon law, engaged in binding all Roman Catholics closer than ever to the footstool of the Vicar of Christ. Modified as these tendencies may be in practice by what Mr. McCabe has called "the decay of the Church of Rome," the victory of the ideas of papal infallibility and papal autocracy is due, more than to any other promoters, to the tenacious followers of Loyola.

If the modern historian desires anything, it is to be fair. He must seek to mortify within himself the seeds of partisanship. He must abdicate even the traditional dignity of judge of the past, lest he be false to the rigorous demands of a science which asks not, Were the Jesuits right or wrong? but, What were they, and how did they come to be just that? Can a Protestant ever qualify for that task? Can he divest himself of feeling, so as neither to attack, nor yet to desire to defend the objects of his researches? Can he succeed in the far more difficult task of comprehending Roman Catholicism, so manifold in its appeal, yet in its dogmas so consistently one? Has he with the eyes of a child watched the star-like candles on the altar? Has he harkened to the silver Sanctus bell, and to the mysterious murmur of the priest as he creates and sacrifices the Body and Blood of our Lord? Has the thought of hell made him shiver, and the consecrated wafer made him thrill? He who cannot imagine these experiences does not know the A B C of Catholicism, in the mastery whereof lies the deepest secret of the power of the Jesuits; for their ascendancy is rooted in their hold on the fears and aspirations of Catholic piety as directed in the confessional and in the Spiritual Exercises.

Granted that understanding of the psychology of Catholicism which is a prerequisite to scientific objectivity, there remains a still greater difficulty than an

adequate psychology—the problem of the possibility of knowledge. Can an outsider really know the past of the Jesuits? Are the sources so abundant, frank, and trustworthy that we may gain from them a true picture?

An official history of the Society of Jesus began to appear three centuries ago.⁴ Though it was composed in the form of annals, then the form preferred by the great Vatican historian Baronius, it found readers and still finds them today, but its importance has been lessened by the publication of certain older sources on which its statements were based. It deserves more attention than does the self-laudatory *Imago primi saeculi societatis Jesu* (1640), or the one-sided reports from the mission fields, the celebrated *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1702, and often, with varying contents).⁵ The interests of their editors and compilers led them to select the edifying rather than the typical, as one may readily see by comparing the account of the Canadian missions given in the *Lettres édifiantes* with the other copious materials edited by the late Professor Reuben Gold Thwaites. Less respected, because more pretentious, is the *Histoire religieuse, politique, et littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, by Jacques Crépineau-Joly (Paris, 1844–1846). Though “written under the auspices of the Society,”⁶ this patently apologetic history has been charged with the suppression or distortion of important facts, and has therefore failed to command the respect of scholars. It is to be understood as the product of those tense days when the Society was the object of the bitter and often unjustifiable attacks which preceded its temporary expulsion from France.

⁴ *Historia Societatis Jesu*, Rome, 1614–1758, begins with Loyola and continues to 1633. It was edited successively by Orlandini, Sacchini, Possinus, Jouvancy, and Cordara (Catholic Encyclopedia, 11, 317).

⁵ Catholic Encyclopedia, 14, 96.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 4, 488.

After the revolution of 1848 various European governments opened sections of their archives to investigators; and early in his reign Leo XIII made large portions of the Archives of the Vatican accessible to the researches even of Protestants.⁷ The flood of new material thus inundating the dry and well-trodden lowland paths of political and ecclesiastical historians, compelled them to abandon many old positions; large sections of modern history have had to be rewritten. Perceiving the new situation, Father Luis Martin, twenty-eighth general of the Society of Jesus, arranged for the compilation of a new series of official historical works, to utilize the newly found materials and to answer questions which had lain outside the sphere of interest of the seventeenth century annalists. There is a set of published sources, *Monumenta historica societatis Jesu*, of which over thirty volumes have appeared at Madrid since 1894; and there is a series of histories of the Order in the various countries which have been the scenes of its labors. Differing greatly from one another in merit, these books of Duhr, Fouqueray, and others⁸ represent a distinct advance in Jesuit historiography, and can be neglected by no serious writer on their respective fields. Unfortunately they have begun to appear so recently that they have exercised practically no influence on the non-Catholic authors that we shall now consider.

⁷ See the comprehensive article by Paul Maria Baumgarten, "Institutes, Roman Historical" (Catholic Encyclopedia, 8, 61-65).

⁸ Duhr treats Austria, Germany, and Switzerland; Fouqueray, France; Astrain, Spain; Venturi, Italy; Kroess, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; Thomas Hughes, North America; and Pastells, Paraguay. They are written in German, French, Spanish, Italian, or English. Exact titles may be found in the Catholic Encyclopedia, 14, 94, and 96. On the scrupulous fairness of Duhr as over against the unbending partisanship of Fouqueray, see G. L. Burr, in the American Historical Review, Oct., 1913, pp. 143-145. An earlier work deserves mention also: Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. In addition there should be noted the inspired rebuttals of slanders and legends concerning the Order, such as Duhr, Jesuiten-Fabeln (4th ed., 1904, pp. xii, 975); Brou, Les Jésuites de la légende (1907, 2 vols.). Other Catholic works include E. L. Taunton, History of the Jesuits in England, 1580-1773 (1901), and Father Taunton's much discussed article "Jesuits" in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1911).

In spite of the inherent fascination of the subject, no English-speaking Protestant has ever written a really good history of the Society of Jesus. Portions of the vast field have, to be sure, received dignified and even distinguished treatment by Americans; it suffices to mention Francis Parkman's *Jesuits in Canada* (1867), and the huge source-collection describing the travels and explorations of the French Jesuit missionaries among the Indians, edited by the late Reuben Gold Thwaites under the title of *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (1896-1901). For the neglect of the larger field various causes may be surmised: the numerical insignificance of the Roman Catholics in Great Britain, leading their opponents to underrate the importance of the task; the former predilection of the great universities for the classics, to the preterition of the study of modern history; the difficulty of doing good work without employing materials which until recently have been secreted in continental archives; and possibly a surmise that only a donkey could browse upon the Jesuit thistle without learning the truth of the motto *Nemo me impune lacessit*. Whether from blindness, caution, cowardice, or caprice, Anglo-Saxon Protestants have usually chosen to leave the Jesuits outside the sphere of their investigations.

Naturally enough the dramatic potentialities of the subject did not escape the eye of Macaulay. In his *History of England* he devotes to it eight famous pages, in which the balancing of vices and virtues, of accusation and rebuttal, issues rather in a series of spectacular contrasts than a judicial estimate of a much-abused Order.⁹ Nor did the lay theologian, Isaac Taylor, who was immune against that itching for antithesis which infected Macaulay, rise to Parnassian heights in his treatment of *Loyola and Jesuitism* (1849). More con-

⁹ T. B. Macaulay, *History of England from the accession of James II*; New York, 1849, vol. 2, 49-56; see also his essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*, originally published in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1840.

scientifically documented and not altogether to be despised at the present day is the hastily written *History of the Jesuits* by Andrew Steinmetz (1848), who had been for nine months a Jesuit novice; but in spite of his drawing on Ranke and Cr  tineau-Joly, his two volumes are hopelessly antiquated.

The works just mentioned were all published before 1850. As regards books for the English reader of Jesuit history, the second half of the nineteenth century was almost a blank.¹⁰ Griesinger's *Jesuits* (New York, 1883) is the translation of a German work which reflects the hostilities of the Kulturkampf; and W. C. Cartwright's *Jesuits* (London, 1876) is the careful but amateurish production of a learned member of Parliament. The opening years of the twentieth century have witnessed the publication of more works dominated by the polemical interest. Here belongs Neatby's *Programme of the Jesuits*, which concludes with the dark suggestion that "the best equipped battalions that have ever marched under the banner of Antichrist" may be potent factors in that "culmination of the mystery of iniquity" which "is still future, as Holy Scripture seems plainly to indicate."¹¹ If Neatby, historian of the Plymouth Brethren though he may be, is negligible when he comes to write on ultramontane topics, one cannot assert the same of the fiery Walter Walsh, author of several books, including *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*. His *Jesuits in Great Britain* (1903), takes up from a different angle some problems treated two years previously by Father Ethelred Taunton in his *Jesuits in England*. Walsh gives a carefully documented indictment of the activities of the Order in Britain down to the accession of James

¹⁰ Two German works deserve mention: J. Huber, *Der Jesuiten-Orden nach seiner Verfassung und Doctrin, Wirksamkeit, und Geschichte*, 1873, and E. Gothein, *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation*, 1895. The latter is a solid contribution, based on work in various archives.

¹¹ W. Blair Neatby, *The Programme of the Jesuits*; 1903, p. 191.

II. He is chiefly concerned with the plots of what he is pleased to call "that notorious Order."¹²

In the past decade six really notable books on the Jesuits have been published by writers who cannot be classified as Catholics. One of these, by Stoeckius, is a technical study of the organization of the daily life of the Order in the sixteenth century, and should be of special interest to historians of education.¹³ Another, *Der Jesuitismus*, by Pilatus (Dr. Viktor Naumann) is an enlarged and corrected reprint of articles which appeared in the *Augsburger Postzeitung*, dealing especially with the history and reliability of anti-Jesuit polemic.¹⁴ In this work Pilate does not confine himself to the question, What is truth? but renders partisan judgment on many matters, nearly always in favor of the Jesuits. As much of the older polemic, which Naumann has hauled out of the cobwebbed recesses in which it was peacefully rusting, is honeycombed with legends and corroded with lies, it defiles the hands of him who touches it. Pilate may wash his hands of it, but he is still incapable of doing justice, for he lacks impartiality.

Of the remaining four books two are elaborate autobiographies of former Jesuits—Count Hoensbroech, and Father Tyrrell; and two are professedly histories of the Order; one of them by the former Franciscan, Joseph McCabe, the other by a conservative Lutheran, Heinrich Boehmer, now professor of ecclesiastical history at the University of Marburg. Of all the histories of the Jesuits

¹² Walter Walsh, *The Jesuits in Great Britain: a historical inquiry into their Political Influence*, 1903, p. 337. Another work of the same temper is Michael F. J. McCarthy's *Jesuits and the British Press* (1910).

¹³ H. Stoeckius, *Forschungen zur Lebensordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu im 16 Jahrhundert: I., Ordensangehörige und Externe; II., Das gesellschaftliche Leben im Ordenshause*, 1910 f.

¹⁴ Pilatus (Dr. Viktor Naumann), *Der Jesuitismus. Eine kritische Würdigung der Grundsätze, Verfassung, und geistigen Entwicklung der Gesellschaft Jesu, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die wissenschaftlichen Kämpfe und auf die Darstellung von antijesuitischer Seite. Nebst einem literarhistorischen Anhang: Die antijesuitische Literatur von der Gründung des Ordens bis auf unsere Zeit*; Regensburg, 1905.

by non-Catholic writers the little book of Boehmer is the most satisfactory.¹⁵ It should be read not in the original German form in which it appeared in 1904, but in the French translation, with a long and valuable introduction by the late Gabriel Monod.¹⁶ Its careful bibliographies, given chapter by chapter, in some measure compensate for the paucity of footnotes. The distinctive merit of Boehmer is the independent treatment of mooted questions, together with a sympathetic appreciation of the aims and spirit of Loyola and his Order.

In his *Candid History of the Jesuits*¹⁷ Mr. Joseph McCabe traces the Society of Jesus from its origin to the present day. In treating the first hundred years he proceeds from generalate to generalate; from then on, he traces the development down to the Suppression of 1773 province by province. The concluding chapters are The Restoration, The New Jesuits, The Last Phase. The book is an excellent example of history as it used to be written in the eighteenth century. It was characteristic of the age of Voltaire to draw no clear-cut distinction between original and secondary sources, trusting to the power of the acute intellect to discern truth regardless of its pedigree. Mr. McCabe's recent program of a volume a year has not left him time to trace the ramifying and often subterranean sources of Jesuit history. He has left the work of exploration to others; he prefers to exploit their results. Had he tested his materials as he went along, he would have given his readers a sense of greater security. Though he does not eschew footnotes altogether, he leaves most of his

¹⁵ H. Boehmer, *Les Jésuites*. Ouvrage traduit de l'allemand avec une Introduction et des Notes par Gabriel Monod, Membre de l'Institut; Paris, 1910.

¹⁶ Monod supplements Boehmer especially on three points: the Chinese and the Malabar rites, the casuistry and ethics of the Jesuits, the policy of the Jesuits (including the *Monita Secreta*).

¹⁷ McCabe, *A Candid History of the Jesuits*; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1913.

assertions hanging in the air. He would base them, no doubt, on the numerous secondary authorities which he casually names in the text, but nowhere arranges in a systematic bibliography. Orlandini and his continuators he usually sets aside as partisan, or uses them chiefly when they make damaging admissions; Crétineau-Joly he cites chiefly in order to expose; but the official *Monumenta* and the provincial histories by Fouqueray and others he seems scarcely to have employed at all. As for Duhr's *Jesuitenfabeln*, with its attempted refutation of seventy-eight varieties of slanders, he errs when he treats it as quite negligible.

If Mr. McCabe has not used the most recent sources and literature, his motivation of events is also distinctly old-fashioned. The narrative is dominated by politics conceived as the game of priests and potentates; in the antechamber or in the confessional one diverts the current of events, without much reference to the logic of ideas, the clash of the classes, or the struggle for the food supply. Thrilling tales of successful priestcraft or of judicial blindness entertain oftener than they convince; like most court memoirs and much else that passes for inside history, they exaggerate the importance of the individual actors to the neglect of the dull but adamant background of economic and physical law. Exaggerating the influence of secret intrigues tends to make the Jesuits appear more formidable than they really were. Just as mediaeval housewives used to suspect Satan rather than bacteria when the cheese refused to act as expected, so certain modern writers, rather than analyze the complicated causes actually at work, flee to the dogma of the omnipresence of the Jesuits. Needless to say, their superstitions about the secretive followers of the Black Pope, as the Jesuit general is called, tend to increase the prestige of these as potent factors in history; but the legends also cause

men to hold them responsible for many a hostile act in which they really bore little or no part.

In pronouncing judgment on controverted questions Mr. McCabe has usually shown a sagacious restraint. Not having time to dig up by the roots the difficulties which are embedded in the original documents, he usually bases his case on damaging admissions by his opponents rather than on a study of the conflicting testimony. Therefore, in spite of his conscious endeavor to be fair, he is really interested chiefly in the sins and errors of the Jesuits. Like a celebrated letter of Abelard, which he knows very well, the present volume might have been entitled *Historia Calamitatum*. To be sure, he enumerates sundry successes, and gives due credit to Jesuit foresight, vigor, and perseverance; but who could deny the foresight of Loyola, the vigor of Xavier, or the perseverance of Jogues? These qualities were not refused to Satan himself by the candid Milton. Mr. McCabe, however, considers most Jesuit successes dazzling but hollow; whether conjured up by corpse-like obedience or by a wave of the Pompadour's fan, they were destined to vanish when Man turned against Magic and Priestcraft.

In view of these facts, is this history of the Jesuits properly entitled "candid"? In the word there lurks ambiguity: it may mean free from disguise or reserve; it may mean free from partiality or bias. The book is quite without reserve, even gossipy at times, though rarely spicy. The bias is, however, unmistakable. Out of his own experience the author published *Twelve Years in a Monastery*. In his Franciscan days he may possibly have soliloquized about the Jesuits as if from a Spanish cloister; now from the governing board of the *Rationalist Press Review* he adds to the old disapprobation bitter intellectual disgust. To the keenness of observation characteristic of the member of a rival

monastic Order he joins the slashing quality which has marked him as a critic of "the Decay of the Church of Rome." Therefore his vigorous *History of the Jesuits* is excellent reading, though it stresses one side of the story.

Turning with regret from the stimulating though inadequate books of Boehmer and McCabe, let us examine those palpitating autobiographies of the two ex-Jesuits, Hoensbroech and Tyrrell.

Count Paul von Hoensbroech was born in 1852 of one of the most ancient and highly respected families of Rhenish Prussia. Educated by the Jesuits at Feldkirch just across the Swiss frontier, he studied law at Bonn and Göttingen, and became a "Referendar." At the age of twenty-six he yielded to an impulse he had long resisted, and entered the Jesuit novitiate. It was then 1878, and Germany, in the feverish excitement of the *Kulturkampf*, had expelled the Jesuits; consequently he had to pass through the novitiate and the scholasticate in Jesuit schools in Holland and in England. Of their obscurantism and relatively antiquated and inefficient character he gives striking evidence, which, though partisan, cannot be neglected by historians of education. After a varied experience in Jesuit colleges he was sent up to Berlin to study at the university. He was to prepare himself to defend Roman dogma against Protestant attack; and to that end he heard Harnack in the history of dogma, and Paulsen in the history of modern philosophy. Neither Harnack nor Paulsen influenced him. He thought Paulsen an honest old bookworm, and considered Harnack learned and usually accurate in detail, but after all surprisingly ignorant of many aspects of Catholicism. He believed him also—and this throws a side-light on the dogmatic and polemical nature of Hoensbroech's own mind—too clever, too prone to resolve contradictions into a higher unity.

So little understanding had Hoensbroech for the professional many-sidedness of the church historian.

Not Harnack nor Paulsen, but Schleiermacher, Rothe, and Biedermann were the liberators of his theology; and the greatest liberator of all was Immanuel Kant. Says Hoensbroech: "Through Kant I attained to a recognition of the autonomy of reason, and its right to self-direction. Kant confirmed me infallibly in the consciousness, which had been long but timidly dawning within me, of the right and duty of conducting research, free and independent of faith in authority, of being not a mere child in leading strings, but a thinking human being, even in the face of the things of the other world. What miserable superficialities my Jesuit philosophy professors had repeated to me about Kant's 'unemployable' because 'illogical' *Critique of Reason*.'" ¹⁸

Hoensbroech's breach with Rome was in essence the assertion of reason against authority; and after a while he went so far along the road to rationalism that he broke with that comprehensive but on the whole conservative organization known as the Evangelical League, and found a place of refuge on the extreme left wing of German theologians, in the *Protestantenverein*. It is not, however, as a dogmatician or as a philosopher that Hoensbroech interests us, but as a historian. At the time of his leaving the Order in 1892 he found great comfort in Ranke and in Gregorovius, who taught him to study the papacy not as a "divine institution" but as a historical phenomenon, and showed him that its social influence had been not civilizing and beneficent only; like all long-lived institutions, the papacy had helped to perpetuate obsolete and inhumane prejudices and superstitions. These reactionary aspects of the development of Roman Catholicism Hoensbroech diligently exploited after his flight from the Order, and he pub-

¹⁸ II, 405 f.

lished his researches in several books.¹⁹ Apart from the side-lights thrown by these works, his chief contributions to the characterization of the Order from which he fled are recorded in *Fourteen Years a Jesuit: a Record of Personal Experience and a Criticism*.²⁰ Hostile and lacking in psychological insight as this presentation occasionally is, it comes from a man who has been on the inside and knows what he is describing. In addition to the fascinating autobiographical portions, Hoensbroech gives a systematic and elaborately documented criticism of the piety and the ascetic discipline of the Order, of its inner constitution, its doctrine of obedience, its use of the confessional, and its influence on court life, politics, and education. The German original has also chapters omitted in the translation, on "Abuses in the Jesuit Order," and on the "Suppression of the Order."

Of all biographies of English Roman Catholics probably the most charming and the most significant since Newman's *Apologia* is the *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell* (1912).²¹ The sensitive Irish Protestant boy, literary to the tips of his fingers, passed through unbelief and High Churchmanship to the Jesuit novitiate at the age of eighteen. Except for a brief period in Malta, his career in the Society of Jesus kept him employed in England; he taught at Stonyhurst and elsewhere. Interested in philosophy rather than history, he was led, by his zeal for the dissolving of doubts and for the reconciliation of the doubter to Mother Church, to stretch the limits of Catholic liberty beyond measure. Opposition and disillusionment followed, and culminated in excom-

¹⁹ Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit, 4th ed. (1902), 2 vols.; *Moderner Staat und römische Kirche* (1906); *Rom und das Centrum* (1907).

²⁰ 1909 f.; translation, 1911.

²¹ *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell*, arranged with supplements by M. D. Petre; Longmans, Green, & Co., 1912, 2 vols. Reviewed in this periodical, Jan. 1914, p. 123 f., by the Reverend William Sullivan.

munication. When he died in 1909 he still yearned for the Catholic unity in which he had been nurtured, which the logic of his ideas would have rent remorselessly.

In closing let us summarize under four heads what these recent publications would tell us about the real nature and activities of the Company of Jesus.

I. The relations of the Jesuits to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The members of the Company of Jesus are popularly supposed to be the militia of the Pope. Their innermost circle, "the professed of four vows," swear to go whithersoever he sends them. Obedience to his commands, transmitted through their General, is military; "theirs not to question why"; and bones bleaching on African sands or beneath Canadian snows bear witness to the undaunted loyalty of the individual. The Jesuit Order as a whole has nevertheless repeatedly disobeyed the Pope, when they thought disobedience would redound (in the words of their favorite motto) "*ad maiorem Dei gloriam.*" They trust themselves as the unwaveringly consistent representatives of papalism; therefore they are reputed to be more papal than the Pope.

If the Jesuits have been in occasional conflicts with popes, they have waged many a bitter war with bishops. Exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, they have entered diocese after diocese, and before long have endeavored to have things their own way. Jesuit churches and Jesuit schools have often competed with parish churches and schools instead of coöperating with them; and the Jesuits have often diverted to themselves the homage and gifts of the laity, in particular of the upper classes. Like the Mendicant Orders before them, the Jesuits have often crossed the plans of priest, of bishop, and even (though rarely) of the Supreme Pontiff.

The rivalry of the Jesuits with certain other religious Orders has usually been intense. From the start they had to cope with the hostility of the Dominicans, a battle

which was keenest under Pope Benedict XIV (1740–1758), who prohibited those curious compromises with Confucianism and Hinduism known respectively as the Chinese and the Malabar rites. The prohibitions practically put a quietus on Jesuit missions in China and India, which wilted as soon as the subterranean stream of Jesuit accommodation was diverted.

II. If the Jesuits did not always live at peace with their Catholic neighbors, what can we say of their relations to Protestants? Founded primarily for missions in Mohammedan lands, the Jesuits were by the force of the political situation speedily compelled to turn to the home field. Here they confronted sin, unbelief, and especially heresy. Even if we grant the thesis of Duhr,²² that the Jesuits were not founded to extirpate Protestantism, it is undeniable that a large portion of their work has been directed to that end. It was the Jesuits who educated great Catholic princes of the Counter-Reformation, notably Emperor Ferdinand II, and then incited them to crush Protestantism in their dominions by ruthless force. Let those who think the control of religious education a thing of little moment read the history of the suppression of Protestantism in the Tyrol or in Bohemia and Moravia, and they will not regard with indifference any attempt to indoctrinate youthful rulers, whether under sixteenth-century absolutism or under a twentieth-century democracy.

In the control of religious education lies the key to the future. The appeal to force in matters of religion seems to us not merely antiquated but abhorrent; and it is to be supposed that the Roman Catholics of America share this point of view. Smile cynically as one may at the appeal for toleration made by James II at the very time when the Grand Monarch just across the Channel was revoking Protestant liberties and harrying the Huguenots,

²² Duhr, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 4th ed., 1–32.

the American Catholics from the days of Lord Baltimore to the present year of grace have been in a minority, and have consistently pleaded for liberty to worship God in their own way. Granted freedom, the fight will be to dominate education; and this end the Jesuits hope to secure through increased influence on school boards, and ultimately through the division of school funds. This they will be able to secure only on condition that they play politics successfully.

The political activities of the Jesuits have often resulted in failure. This is perhaps the universal experience of all who engage in such fascinating pursuits as politics; but in the nineteenth century they have suffered many a heavy defeat. They lost in opposing the union of Italy;²³ they lost on Napoleon III, and again on General Boulanger;²⁴ and their friend, Cardinal Merry del Val, the Secretary of State to the reigning Pope, probably lost when he sacrificed the *modus vivendi* offered by the French government and accepted by a majority of the French episcopate in 1906, through fear that if the separation of church and state worked too well in France it would straightway be tried in Spain.

In view of these facts, who can deny that the Jesuit actually has entered and does enter politics? Whatever their official Constitutions may say to the contrary, whatever novice-masters may tell their novices,²⁵ the leaders of the Order know very well what they want. Said a shrewd Italian observer seventy years ago: "There are three sorts of Jesuits. There are learned members of Loyola's Order who do not know much about its policy, and pious Jesuits who are fully persuaded that their Order is innocent. By the help of the first kind of Jesuits an impression is made on those who are intellec-

²³ W. R. Thayer, *Life and Times of Cavour*, 1911.

²⁴ Hoensbroech, II, 133 ff.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 164.

tually well educated; by the second kind on pious souls. But behind these two stands the real Jesuitism, which is now more eager than ever before, and which aims at the old object of Jesuitism—a counter-revolution and a theocracy.”²⁶ Boehmer, Tyrrell, and more plainly Hoensbroech and McCabe, give case after case where the Jesuits have interfered in politics, often to their discomfiture. The secrecy which is popularly supposed to hedge them about, as doth majesty a king, gives them a prestige beyond their deserts; but it also causes men to suspect them of much mischief which may not properly be laid at their door. They have sown secrecy, and have too often reaped suspicion and hatred; not merely among Protestants, to many of whom a live Jesuit would be as much a curiosity as a great auk, but among the Catholic laity as well. Country after country has expelled them from its borders, not merely in the era of Bourbon ascendancy in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth;²⁷ and today their colleges are forbidden in France and Germany. Frequently as the Jesuits have been the victims of greed or blind hostility, one suspects that where there has been so much smoke there must have been some fire—not necessarily the fire of martyrdom.

III. The ethical influence of the Jesuits. Of all themes for lovers of good detective stories, what can surpass the doings of the confessor to princes? Here is secrecy, here is power, here may lie great achievement; here also may be concealed chicanery and the toleration of sin for the glory, shall we say? of God. Let us judge charitably that *tertium quid* which too often passes for a Protestant court preacher; but let us also demand an

²⁶ Quoted in F. Nielsen, *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* (1906), II, 91.

²⁷ W. Bornemann lists twenty-six times that various governments have officially expelled the Jesuits (*Sind die Jesuitengegner "Lügner" und "Verleumder"?* 1903, p. 39 f.).

account of the uttermost farthing from the priest who for the sake of peace makes a pact with hell. Skilled as some confessors may have been in ethical acrobatics, in due time their feet did slide; and frequent falls have made casuistry a by-word.²⁸ The root of the evil is the fact that the father-confessor is put into the position of a judge who must give the accused the benefit of the doubt, and thus lower the standard which should be held consistently high. No wonder that a decisive factor in the conversion of Hoensbroech was the appeal of Kant for the moral autonomy of the individual.

IV. Finally, let us consider the Jesuit as a factor in the history of education. After having turned from Mohammedan to home missions, Loyola specialized in education. For the first century of their existence the Jesuit colleges were probably superior to anything that the Protestants had to offer; therefore the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1585 is a pedagogical document of prime importance. On the side of discipline, the Society appealed not to the birch so much as to emulation. On the side of subject matter, it subordinated everything, including mathematics and the vernacular, to the mastery of Latin. When, however, Latin ceased to be the language of learning and of diplomacy, the educational ideal was out of date; yet with a conservatism worthy of a better cause, the Jesuits kept instruction essentially on the basis of the *Ratio Studiorum* from 1585 to 1832. They fell to the rear of the pedagogical procession. In spite of certain reforms in the nineteenth century, they are today important educational factors in but two modern countries—in Spain and in the United States.²⁹

In education, ethics, politics, and in the Roman Church, the Jesuits are a power; yet in most countries their influence is on the decline. Their numbers and wealth

²⁸ Döllinger and Reusch, *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeit in der römisch-katholischen Kirche*; 2 vols. (1899).

²⁹ Boehmer, p. 293.

are constantly increasing; the Order counts nearly as many members today as in the palmy days before the Suppression. Typical as the Jesuits may seem to be of the plots or of the missionary heroism of the romantic past, they are destined to play a prominent part in the near American future. We must seek to understand them; and this we can do now better than ever before, thanks to their own learned publications, and to the far from infallible books of Boehmer, Tyrrell, Hoensbroech, and McCabe.